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## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF WESTERN ALABAMA.

Special Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 30.

It may be interesting, if not instructive, to glance over the record of some of the prominent men of this State who have been recommended by Governor Parsons for pardon. Most of them have already received it, and are now looking out for lucrative positions, either in the State or under the General Government.

Exhibit A. J. Moore recommended, and I guess pardoned by this time, was Governor of Alabama at the time the State seceded. He ordered the seizing of forts Morgan and Gaines, the arsenal at Mt. Vernon, with all their arms and equipments. He recommended the taking of forts Pickens, Mc-Rae, and Barrancas in Florida, and all upon his own responsibility, *before the act of secession had been passed*. In his message to the Senate, dated Jan. 9, 1861, he said, "I could not wait till *that* Government (the United States) had thrown troops into the forts," etc.

John Gill Shorter, successor to Gov. Moore, recommended for pardon, was Commissioner to Georgia and Deputy to the rebel Congress. He was an active secessionist, a persecutor of Union men, arresting and throwing them into prisons. He was the Governor whose proclamation made him proverbial.

Thos. Hill Watts, successor to Shorter in 1863, recommended for pardon, was a prominent lawyer, as were also his two predecessors. He was Attorney-General in the rebel army, and afterward Attorney-General of the Confederacy. The following extract from his inaugural message will define his position: "Let us renew our faith to the Southern cause, and let us swear before high heaven, whenever else may be our faith, we will never have political connection with such a God-cursed race. Death will be a heavenly boon compared with the horrors of Union rule." He was a member of the secession convention, and, in company with Wm. L. Yancey, walked up first to put his name to the secession ordinance. He was the chairman of the committee which got up the ordinance of secession, and framed the act, and, as late as March, 1865, was President of the society known as "The loyal Confederates of Montgomery."

Leroy Pope Walker, recommended for pardon, was the first Secretary of War, was commissioner to Tennessee, and afterwards Major-General in the rebel army. He ordered the firing of the first gun on Fort Sumter, and on the same evening declared a social plant the rebel flag on Faneuil Hall in Boston.

Benj. Fitzpatrick, pardoned, and a prominent candidate for the U. S. Senate, was a lawyer. He was elected to the U. S. Senate in 1857, to serve with C. Clay (who is now charged with conspiracy) and indorsed the sentiments expressed in that memorable farewell speech of Clay's, in which he declared himself to be absolved from all obligations to support the Constitution of the United States. Fitzpatrick was also one of that caucus in which Southern Senators agreed to, and did advise their States to secede.

J. L. Pugh, recommended for pardon, and a candidate for Congress, is a lawyer of considerable note. He also abandoned his seat in Congress, and advised the Convention in Alabama to pass the ordinance of secession. He raised the second Alabama regiment, go to Washington and set the Capital in flames, was one of the vilest secessionists and most vigilant persecutor of Union men.

John A. M. Curry, recommended for pardon, is a lawyer, and was one of the Congressmen who abandoned their seats in 1860. With Pugh he wrote a letter to the Alabama Convention urging them to pass the ordinance of secession—was Commissioner to Maryland and Deputy to the rebel Congress; an original proselyte of Calhoun and a violent persecutor of loyal men.

Wm. Chilton, pardoned, is a lawyer. He was a Deputy to the rebel Congress, and an active agent to procure subscriptions to the Confederate cotton loan, lent all his influence and energies to the cause of secession, and was a working member of the Montgomery Confederate Court.

Frank S. Lyon, pardoned, a lawyer and wealthy planter was an avowed secessionist. He was a member of the rebel Congress, Chairman of the Finance Committee, and author of the scheme for effecting a Confederate loan of fifteen millions upon bonds, to aid the rebellion, as well as the bill for taxation and the funding act of the currency. He was, of course, one of the most violent secessionists.

Edward S. Dargan, recommended for pardon, is a prominent lawyer and secessionist. He was formerly a member of the United States Congress, and judge of the Supreme Court of Alabama; was a member of the secession convention and rebel Congress. He was author of the proposition to raise a million dollars for the war.

Thaddeus Sanford, recommended for pardon, was Collector of Customs at Mobile under Buchanan, and editor of the *Advertiser*. He refused to accept a draft of $26,000, drawn on him for the port, and resigned, holding on to funds belonging to the United States, and afterward appropriated and collected pay from the rebel government after the sequestration of the public moneys.

W. Echols, pardoned, was a contractor for the State; was to feed the convicts, and furnished them pursuaic corn, meal, etc. Was a Colonel in the rebel army, a conscript officer and persecutor of Union men; drank the Confederate hospital whisky and Selma, and died of delirium tremens.

Gen. Cornelius Robinson, recommended for pardon, was a deputy to the rebel Congress; made secret speeches in favor of secession, declaring that if Lincoln was elected, his family and friends would be murdered, and his plantation. He favored vigilance committees and lynch laws; declared his desire for the election, *because, as he believed, it would cause secession*.

Eli S. Shorter, pardoned, was one of the most extreme rebels in the South, and noted for his persecution of loyal men. He is an ex-member both of the United States and Confederate Congress—was also a Colonel in the rebel army.

James M. Calhoun, nephew of the Nullifier, is recommended for pardon. He is a wealthy planter, lawyer, and politician; has been plotting secession for nearly thirty years; was a senator in the rebel State Legislature, and a bitter persecutor of Union men.

John F. Morgan recommended for pardon, was a cunning lawyer and violent secessionist—was a member of the secession convention, fully justified Gov. Moore in seizing U. S. property, was a General in the rebel army, conscript agent of the State, etc.

W. W. Hilliard, recommended for pardon, was a strong advocate of secession, a famous ecclesiastical orator on the "rights of the South," committee of the famous Hilliard Legion, *a la* Cæsar, and is now spending the days of his penitence in Washington, under the eye of his hopeful-for restorer.

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Washington Smith, pardoned, was President of the Selma Bank. At a time when it was thought gross would be scarce in the Confederacy, this gentleman distinguished himself by saying, "if we cannot get guns, we will take pikes; if we cannot get pikes, we will take shovels and hoes; and if we cannot get shovels, we will use brickbats, we will scratch the Yankees' eyes out with our finger nails."

Col. N. H. R. Dawson, pardoned, was the first man who wore the South Carolina cockade in this State; raised a company, and became its colonel, an officer in the rebel conscript bureau; said the rich men would procure the means, and the poor men would do the fighting; was in favor of raising the black militia.

Lehman & Bros., rich Jews, and merchants in this city, were pardoned. They were blockade runners, and were spoken of by Gov. Watts, in his message, to having furnished, during the entire war, valuable material for the army.

A. D. Barnet, Isaac Micon, A. Kirk, and others comprising the firm of Barnett, Micon & Co., Montgomery, are also said were before the war, the owners and proprietors of the Dallas Cotton Factory, located in Talapoosa county, this State. This company made an immense fortune during the war, having been favored contractors of the so-called Confederate Government. The company was, and is now, composed of persons most hostile to the United States. They were noted during the war for their vigilance in pushing and persecuting Union citizens.

They even refused to furnish poor women and children of the State with a yard of cloth for any price, giving as a reason that they "alone manufactured cloth for the soldiers of the Confederate army." At the close of the rebellion they were in possession of a large amount of cotton, not less than 2,500 bales, with other property. Much of this cotton belonged to the Confederate government, it is said, but they used this factory to be manufactured into clothing for the army.

This company coming within several sections of the President's amnesty proclamation, and their factory being liable to confiscation under the acts of Congress, they engaged the services of a prominent lawyer, named Seibles (now dead), and contracted with him to obtain pardon for the various members of the Company, for which he was to receive one-third of the cotton. The petitions were prepared, recommended, and forwarded to Washington, and in due time the pardons were granted. The company, finding themselves pardoned, commenced trade with their attorney by paying him $60,000.

This affair being concluded, the next step was to present to the Secretary of the Treasury a large claim for compensation, which is at this time under consideration at Washington.

The company above spoken of is the one which proposed to send Jeff. Davis one hundred and fifty negroes after the Confederate Congress had passed an act to use slaves for military purposes; and when Davis had to flee from Richmond, this company offered and used their factory and buildings as a depository for the property of the Richmond government.

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### INTERESTING REPORT WITH REGARD TO MATTERS IN WEST ALABAMA.

The following is a report of an expedition sent out by Gen. Swayne to investigate reported outrages against freedmen in Western Alabama, and to show the people were observing the new regime:

Major Miller, who led the expedition, is highly competent for this important duty, and every word in his report may be set down as perfectly reliable:

MOBILE, Ala., Sept. 30.

On Friday, the 8th instant, I started from Mobile with an escort of mounted infantry, Capt. Schafer's 21st Missouri, consisting of thirty-five men, with four six-mule wagons. I took the old road from Mobile to St. Stephen's, Washington county. During the day I met and conversed with several individuals, who were employing freedmen. At Mount Vernon I found that the freedmen were generally doing well. They were all working at home and generally contented. The only complaint they made to me was their separation from their wives and families. Some of them came way from Mobile county, leaving their families behind, and now are afraid to go for them. The freedmen are working for a portion of the crop, varying on different plantations from one-tenth to one-fourth, besides food and clothing.

Near McIntyre Black River, I passed by the side of the road a newly-made grave, near a house. I inquired whose grave it was and was informed that only a few days before one Dr. Grierson, a Union man and a prominent citizen of Washington, had been basely murdered, and this was his grave. The supposed murderers had left the county, or were secreted in the swamps, but the citizens were trying to find them. About two months before a negro was shot, and these same persons are supposed to be the guilty parties.

The crops through this section are almost worthless, and the most aboriginal form of government exists. Many must starve, except assistance is received, and at many points a military force should be stationed to teach the lawless submission.

At Mount Vernon, Washington county, I met Capt. Smith with six men of the 21st Missouri, sent there to administer the oath. I saw much of the people, and held a long interview with a Dr. Hosea, who said he was a Union man and opposed to secession, but was a Colonel in the rebel army.

Lehman & Bros., rich Jews, and merchants in this city, were pardoned. They were blockade runners, and were spoken of by Gov. Watts, in his message, to having furnished, during the entire war, valuable material for the army.

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## CONNECTICUT.—TURNING OF THE TIDE.

From the Montgomery (Alabama) Daily Advertiser.

It is alike indicative of a sensible reaction in the extreme New England States, and significant of the downfall of the fanatical rule under which the country has groaned for the last four years, that the State of Connecticut should have fired the first gun at this auspicious moment against the revolting proposition of negro suffrage. On the 1st instant the question was submitted to the people of that State whether they would strike the word *white* from their Constitution, so that the negro vote in that State by every influence was brought to bear by influential politicians and presses of the Black Republican school, to induce the white men of Connecticut to carry out the degrading dogma of negro equality; but they signally refused to be led into the mire, as was evident from the dispatch published yesterday. Every county, except one, voted *no*, and the State has gone the same way about six thousand votes. Well done!

*This is very important, as showing that the tide is setting in the right direction.* The leaders saw it, and tried to avert their doom, but it was no use. The die has gone forth, even from New England, which casts its influence in favor of man's government, as contemplated by the fathers of the republic. Negroes, when freed, are entitled to perfect equality of personal rights before the law; to hold property, enter into contracts, sue and be sued, testify in courts; but to go beyond political rights—the right to vote, to hold office, to sit on juries, and the like—would force the superior race to the level of the lower, revolutionize and overthrow the Government, and chicken-hearted rebukes as Connecticut has given to the Radical party will enable our Representatives and Senators to take their seats in Congress, and the States will be represented in their once proud and happy position of equality and fraternity in the Union.

## SUFFRAGE AND PREJUDICE.

[The *Journal of Freedom* is the name of a new paper in Baleigh, North Carolina, devoted to Universal Suffrage; J. Q. A. Crane, Publisher; Edward P. Brooks, Correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, Editor. In an article headed Suffrage and Prejudice, it says:]

If people will allow themselves to be guided by common sense, laying aside their prejudices, the great political question which has arisen through the new state of affairs in the South will be settled amicably and without difficulty. Time was when the free colored population of North Carolina exercised the right to vote with the whites, and from the best blood of North Carolina flows in the veins of those who are proscribed on account of color. Men whose intelligence is acknowledged, even by their political foes, to be superior to that of many who now execise the precious right unquestioned, are also placed in the back-ground, merely on account of color No sensible man can for a moment suppose that the exercise of the privilege of the elective franchise to the colored man on account of his degree of intelligence. It is only necessary to go to any large city, in order to find more ignorant and deluded voters than they would make; in fact, to find such voters is not necessary to the argument. *There are hundreds, aye, thousands, of freedmen who, while slaves, were trusted by their masters in business transactions of great importance, and there is no equity in not allowing a larger number of like men, proportionally, in every community, who are not entitled to, and to not receive, the same confidence.* Manifestly, then, the exclusion of the colored man from the right to vote is not founded in justice, but in the exercise with some of the whites, is merely the result of prejudice. A simple and just application of the great principle on which our government is based, the consent of the governed, would obliterate all distinction on account of color, or race, and the African would have the same right to a voice in making laws which he has to obey, as the Irishman. No one will pretend for a moment to deny the right of a native of Africa, or German or English descent to vote, and it seems to the unprejudiced a strange piece of inconsistency that an exception to this generally accepted rule should be made against the descendants of Africans.

## THE CONTEST IN MISSISSIPPI ABOUT NEGRO TESTIMONY.

From the Cincinnati Commercial.

THE Jackson, Miss., News, with Governor Sharkey, beause in his recent proclamation, in which he accepts the proposition of Colonel Samuel Thoma, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's bureau, to transfer to the civil authorities of the State the right to try the cases in which the rights of freedmen are involved, he advocates "the equality of the negro before our judicial tribunals," and states his conviction that the "late constitutional amendment makes the negro competent as a witness, according to the laws of evidence of the State."

The *News* is of opinion that the amendment did not repeal the existing laws on the subject of negro testimony, and declares that "no public man in Mississippi can survive the storm of indignation which will pelt him into obscurity if he allows himself the advocate of equality of the negro before the judicial tribunals of the country." It says: "We must refuse persistently, even at the expense of a temporary Freedman's Bureau, to permit this first advance against the rights and liberties of the white man."

It is very evident, from the acrimony of the discussion now going on in the Mississippi and other Southern newspapers, that the question of the competency of negroes to testify in the courts will be an issue in the local politics of those States, till the matter is finally decided one way or the other. We fail to discover in what respect the rights and liberties of the white man are to be affected by admitting the negro to the witness stand. In Ohio negro testimony is taken upon the same conditions as that of the whites, and the jury is left to determine the credibility of witnesses in each case. We have not heard that any body's liberty or rights have been impaired by this simple act of justice. If it is the purpose of the Mississippians to arrange their local laws as to put it out of the power of the white man to commit and abuse the freedmen, and if the license to outrage and wrong this despised race is regarded as a right and a liberty not to be restricted, we can understand the hostility which the *News* manifests to Governor Sharkey's proposition.

It is perhaps well to observe here that the blacks have been set free, and as freedmen the Government of the United States is bound to protect them, and secure to them the rights of freedmen under a republican form of government. The Freedmen's Bureau has been established to promote that object, to see that the treatment of these people is fair and just, that the master-class do not overpower and cheat them out of the freedom bestowed upon them; that it shall be a fact as well as a name, and that in all things they shall be subject to no exceptional laws and regulations oppressive and unjust in their character. If the people of Mississippi have the disposition with which the *News* credits them, and the Legislature embodies that spirit in its legislation, the Freedmen's Bureau, which the *News* stigmatizes as "an inquisition and "an oppression," will assume a more permanent character than will be agreeable to the pro-slavery editor of the *News*.

MAN OR BEAST.—The Mobile *Tribune* characterizes the Democrats and Republicans of the North as man and beast. It says:

"Every one in this part of the country is interested in knowing which of those parties is likely to obtain a control of us rebels. To state the difference between them is, as it were, to ask, 'Which is a beast or a man?' With the pleasure in saying that the man is likely to rule: that the beast has overshot his mark, and left the game for his better brother, the man, to finish. The beast is animated to overshot its mark. It has been too eager to reap its spoils. It has betrayed by its desire for rapacity its own fatality for gain or plunder, therefore, in this special case, is likely to bring it no profit; and the contemplation of this fact—that there is no dollars in it—must be an intolerable torture."

The rebels evidently think as much of the Democratic party now as they did at the outbreak of the rebellion and during the war. They still think their Democratic friends failed to "toe the mark" during the war, but they are now no less disposed to use them as tools to accomplish their purposes. —*Cincinnati Gazette.*

## AWAY WITH HIM!

From the N. Y. Tribune.

COLORPHOBIA dies hard, and it must be admitted that its ultimate spasms are a little laughable, as it stiffens into the rigidity of a *reductio ad absurdum*. Class hatred seems to find death itself sweet in comparison with concession or even compromise. The Cherokee Indian, turning up his nose contemptuously between two high cheek bones, "objects to the incorporation of the freedmen into his tribe." Connecticut, still enamored of blue legislation, thinks the black people not good for battles, but not good enough for the ballot-box. The Rev. Gov. Brownlow is for instantly kicking every emancipated man, woman and child out of Tennessee into the wilderness, and Sam Cox's foot-balls may land they will be unpleasant to somebody, and as there are several millions of them—a good, solid, constituent part of the national population, whether they are to be voters or not—they must at all, of living somewhere, it occurs to us that the readiest way of solving this impertinent problem is to put all these intruders upon the face of God's earth to the westward, and let the chicken-hearted humanitarian protest that this expedient would be wanting to some extent in benevolence? Bah! who is talking of benevolence at all? We are considering simply the best mode of securing the peace of society, ancient and respectable prejudices, the delicate feelings of the Cherokee Indians and of the inhabitants of Connecticut, the sacred dignity of Caucasian demi-gods, the purity of pews and of theatre-seats and of all sorts of assemblies, of schools and colleges, the nice nobility of the well-born because they are white-born, the traditional limitations of fastidious Democracy, the exquisite taste of the refined, and the delicate nerves and the weak knees of nervous Republicans, the susceptibility of the whole tribe of the Hohier-than-Thou's! None of these are the men to find fault with our proposition—they are not the men to find fault with they be tender of lives which they are so ready to make wretched? The black is either a man or a beast. If the former, he has a right to live where he pleases, if the latter, he is a nuisance and has no more to be tolerated upon the political than loathsome insects upon the physical body. We have nothing but scorn for the logic which faints at its own deductions. We have no fellow-feeling for contempt for theories which the holders shrink from redncing to practice. We shoot wolves, we trap weasels, we hunt foxes, we kill pole-cats, we shoot crows, we wage a war of extermination upon rats and cockroaches, and why should we respect any immortal hostility cruel? It is not against the existence but the neighborhood of these nuisances that we protest practically and remorselessly. Now, though the Democratic party has nothing but scorn for the wolves in Minnesota, and the householder in New York nothing for the roaches in Philadelphia, it is evident that while wolves and roaches remain, they must live somewhere and the Democratic party So it is with these horrible blacks! If Brownlow had a purse plethoric enough, and power adequate to transport all these troublesome creatures somewhere, it is certain that he could not carry them beyond the utmost reach of advancing new-born civilization. He merely temporizes. He merely rids his day and generation of a trouble, and bequeaths it to posterity. He merely relieves one locality at the expense and misery of another. It is a contemptently humane. If we cut the throats of all the blacks, we sever at the same time the gordian knot. We put the animal out of his misery, and we put ourselves out of our misery. We are relieved. We do not pretend to be more pitiful than our neighbors; but we believe the *coup de grace* to be better and kinder than prolonged torture, "the happy dispatch" than Delicate Money. Of this sort of thing if this poor black creature is to be hunted from town to town, from county to county, and from State to State, finding nowhere a resting place, nowhere compassion and succor, nowhere a home, nowhere escape from ingenuous and unceasing enmity, the sooner he is released from an existence so execrable the more fortunate will he be. Even if it should turn out to be all a mistake, he can hardly be worse off than he was before, and for the future life than he has been in this. With no feeling but that of pity, and moved by the sincerest commiseration, we submit our plan to the notice of the kind-hearted and charitable, and recommend a public meeting at Cooper Institute to inaugurate the movement.

THE LAST SHALL BE FIRST.—The *Commercial Advertiser* has a letter from an intelligent observer in Nashville, Tennessee, in which he says of the Poor Whites and the Blacks of that State:

"These two classes are now side by side, and each placed under new conditions. Both are destitute. The one is destitute because it is the result of the superior race, *while not a single colored person has applied*, or is likely to apply. The blacks have a self-supporting school, which was established by Chaplain Springer, who is almost of the Government bounty to the destitute in Western Arkansas, distributed rations in July last to 2,733 whites and to 12 blacks. In August, to 1,444 whites and to 9 blacks. This month it will be to about 1,000 

killing of a young man who had formerly been a scout in our army, by discharged rebel soldiers, in the northwest part of Georgia, at the same time running off some Union men who had returned to their homes in that neighborhood. We have been informed that it is unsafe for a Union man to go into the country fifteen or twenty miles from Stevenson, Ala., and in our own State we hear of cases being gotten up against men for the killing of rebels, or the burning of houses, done while in the service of the United States. All these instances, however, are important as they are in themselves, are as nothing compared with the recent doings of an Episcopal Bishop of the State of Alabama. This dignitary, the Right Rev. Richard Wilmer, in a letter to the Clergy and Laity, recommends the omission in the services of the Church, in that State, of the prayer for the President of the United States and all in civil authority.

Is it any wonder, after the exhibition of such a spirit of malignity and party spite, that the Union men of the land are afraid to trust too far those who have lately been in rebellion against the Government? We don't whether any one of the North has the least desire to misconstrue the intentions of the Southern people, but we know that as they feel and think by their acts, and certainly none of them have offered any proof of a readiness on their part to advance one step forward in the path of reconstruction further than they are compelled by military power.

On the above exhibit, the Nashville *Press* and *Times* thus properly comments :

"This is a very severe reflection upon the professions of the people of the Rebel States, and in particularization adds to its severity. We have nothing in the Chicago *Tribune*, ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and other ultra Radical journals of ——rth, at all approaching in force the foregoing declatement in the sharpness of its censure. If ple of the rebel States are possessed of the ascribed to them by the Chattanooga *Gazette*, they will certainly defeat the President's benevolent confidence now reposed in them. We shall weep in the dust of King David's humiliation, with all the tears of irrepressible sorrow, should such be the mournful, unhappy, grievous, lamentable and agonizing result of unprecedented clemency.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT.—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1865.


## *PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.*

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

THE STANDARD Subscribers to whom bills are sent, will confer a favor by remitting the amounts due at their earliest convenience.

WENDELL PHILLIPS will speak in New York City at Cooper Institute, Wednesday evening, Oct. 25, at 8 o'clock. Subject : "THE SOUTH VICTORIOUS."

## *ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.*

THE Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Horticultural Hall, in West Chester, on the 27th inst., day and evening.

The Executive Committee earnestly request the punctual attendance of all the members ; and cordially invite all persons interested in the great problem of Emancipation, which is now being wrought out by this Nation, to assemble with us and participate in our deliberations. The glorious victories which our cause has won, fill our souls with thanksgiving ; the perilous national crisis of the present hour solemnly impresses us with a sense of our responsibility and duty as Abolitionists ; and both the past and the present inspire us with hope that our long-sinning Nation will soon execute justice by securing full and perfect liberty to those whom it has, for many generations, scorned, persecuted, and enslaved.

All true patriots are looking forward with intense interest to the decision of the questions upon which Congress is to legislate during its next session ; questions on which the safety, perhaps the life, of the Nation depends. In the interval, it is the manifest duty of Abolitionists to use diligently their well-proved "staff of accomplishment," agitation, to so mould and guide public sentiment that justice to the colored race shall not be sacrificed to a false and transient peace, and the *same* of freedom for the slave substituted for its reality.

At our approaching meeting, plans for efficient action during this momentous interval will be proposed and discussed.

Let none, through weariness of long warfare, be in haste to put off their armor before the last battle is completely won ; let none assume, while slavery has an actual and legal existence anywhere in our Nation, that our work can be safely delegated to political parties. They have their own work to do, and with their own weapons. The Abolitionists have theirs, from which they cannot be absolved until the abolition of American slavery is complete.

The Committee confidently expect that WENDELL PHILLIPS and PARKER PILLSBURY will be present and participate in the discussions of the Society.

Cars leave Thirty-first and Market streets at 8.06 and 11 a.m. JAMES MOTT, President.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Cor. Secretary.

## *THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.*

WE print in full the speech of President Johnson to the colored troops, though it would have been easy to condense it into one-third the space without omitting any essential statement. But the speech has been eagerly lauded by such of the Republican papers as are anxious to find the semblance of Radicalism in the President, and as we are not able to find much in it to praise, we put the whole text before our readers, and they can judge of it for themselves. The great length of the address—great in proportion to the number of its ideas—is probably the chief recommendation. We suppose there are people who feel grateful that a President of the United States should condescend to address a harangue of a column or so to a colored regiment. Before they permit their emotion to overpower them entirely, they may find it worth while to examine what the President says. To a careful reader it will appear that Mr. Johnson has employed the familiar device of using many words to conceal his want of positive opinions—or, perhaps, his unreadiness to declare his opinions, whether positive or not.

The best comment on the President's address to the negroes is the President's address to the McFarland delegation early in September. It is not so much what is said, as the tone and undercurrent of feeling, that give character to two speeches made in such circumstances. Judged by that test, the speech of the President to the rebels might better have been made to the colored troops, and the speech to the colored troops made to the rebels. The one was full of compliment and conciliation ; the other was all exhortation and admonition. The President greeted the rebels as brothers ; he talked to a regiment of Union soldiers like a pedagogue or a drill master.

This speech cannot be considered as addressed only to the regiment drawn up in front of the Executive Mansion. It reaches the ears of two hundred thousand colored troops who wear or have just laid off the national uniform, and is heard just with intense interest as the first address of the President to them. As soldiers they listen for a word of commendation for their matchless services from their Commander-in-Chief. Eager eyes of kindling with just pride as they remembered the long devotion of their despised race, and the brilliant courage of their soldiers whom a great party of white men denounced as cowards, have scanned the report of the President's speech to find in it that honorable eulogy dear to the soldier's heart. The black heroes remember that in a moment Fort Hudson and Milliken's Bend, Olustee and Fort Wagner, battles in which they had displayed valor and constancy surpassed by nothing in the war. But it does not appear that President Johnson ever heard of those memorable occasions. He is kind enough to tell the men whose splendid courage saved this nation, that they "served their country and endurance !" and that their departure might want no circumstance of insult and contumely at the hands of the Executive, this same regiment a few days later is cheated out of its pay by a quibble on a statute, and its soldiers denied their bounty unless they can prove their freedom at the time of their enlistment !

Upon the half-sober dissertation of Mr. Johnson concerning liberty, we do not care to comment. What can be said of such an ejaculation as this ?

"Liberty (and may I not call you my countrymen?) consists in the glorious privilege of work ; of pursuing the ordinary vocations of peace with industry and with economy ; and that being done, all those who have instructions and economical are permitted to appropriate and enjoy the results of their own labor." [Cheers.] This is one of the great blessings of freedom ; and hence we might ask the question, and answer it, by stating that liberty means freedom to enjoy the products of your own labor. You will soon be mustered out of the ranks. It is for you to establish the great fact that you are fit and qualified to be free. *Hence, freedom is the right to labor.* You have it not that exists in fact. Freedom is not *simply* the privilege to live in idleness ; liberty does not mean *simply* to exist. It has now higher and more extended and acceptable character. Freedom and liberty do not mean that the people ought to live in licentiousness, but liberty means *simply* to be industrious, to be virtuous, to be temperate, and all our dealings and relations with men ; and to those now before me, members of the first regiment of colored volunteers from the District of Columbia, I can say that the subject before us is ready to say that a great deal depends upon yourselves. You must give evidence that you are competent for the rights that the government has guaranteed to you."

The supreme severity of this speech is its lecture about licentiousness. Mr. Johnson says he has lived in a Southern State and knows all about plantation life. He therefore advises the negroes to esteem the contract of marriage as higher and more solemn than almost all others. We can only conclude that Mr. Johnson in some momentary confusion conceived himself to be addressing an audience of white Southerners. His remarks would have been timely and forcible if incorporated in the speech delivered to the McFarland delegation in September. The Southern planters neither recognized the binding force of marriages among their slaves, nor were true to their own vives. A woman who called herself the wife of a slave had no security from the embraces of her master, nor from an indiscriminate concubinage with other slaves, if either the lust or avarice of the master controlled him. Mr. Johnson well knows that the statute book of Tennessee and of every other Southern State made marriage a mockery and virtue impossible to the black ; yet before the slave code is abolished in a single State, he administers to the victims of it a lecture on the merits of chastity !

It is fair to admit that the President does not promise his black auditors a permanent millennium to this country, even should they follow his advice in such matters. Although he unaccountably forgot to touch on that topic when addressing a conclave of traitors, and to warn the men who had sought to destroy the country that their continuance in it was dependent on their good behavior, he cautions the men who fought for the Union that it may not be large enough to allow them a home in the future. The President has the inconceivable impertinence to talk to these colored soldiers of colonization—a dead folly years since buried, for which a resurrection has been vainly sought by such relics of antiquity as Montgomery Blair and Senator Doolittle. If Mr. Johnson wished to join such a party, he might have chosen at least a more decent occasion for the declaration of his views. That this speech should be fastened on by his partisans to cajole the country out of its purpose to do justice to the colored race is evidence of the strait in which the Radicals find themselves. There is a sentence or two that reads fairly, but the speech as a whole is discreditable to the President, and an insult to the Four Millions of loyal citizens whom it consigns to a political purgatory.

## *THE EPISCOPAL CONVENTION.*

A CONVENTION of the Protestant Episcopal Church has been in session at Philadelphia during the last and the present week. Its main work is to "reconstruct" the church by uniting the Northern and Southern branches, and its method of reconstruction is of course "conciliation"—a word that has grown unhappily to be almost a synonyme for *humiliation*. Always the most pro-slavery of the churches, the Episcopal body shows itself conspicuously the most servile of the sycophants to Southern sentiment. The debate on the case of Bishop Wilmer of Alabama is an illustration :

Rev. Geo. D. Cummins, D.D., of Illinois, said that it was the glory of the Church that she was the last to bend to the storm of popular fury. She stood fast, and let her be the first to restore these bonds. Let her gather them up and weave them into a chain of love, never to be broken. He contended that the Southern church conformed to the Confederate government from strictly conscientious motives, believing that paramount allegiance was due to the State. Their course, therefore, was wholly Christian. They were simply mistaken in a point of duty.

Dr. Kerfoot, of Comm., *took the ground that the South was right in the position she had taken*. Her people now passed away, but it was a fact then, and they proceeded to organize the work of Christ. The peace of the Church and the peace of the nation demand the instant restoration of these questions. Southern Episcopal churches acted conscientiously, and he was prepared to take them by the hand when the opportunity is presented.

Ex.-Gov. Fish of New York argued that Bishop Wilmer was, to all intents, a foreign Bishop, not having been consecrated by the Church North. He is to be brought back as the chief of a foreign Bishop would be, and must declare conformity with the obligations imposed by its laws. Gov. Fish offered a resolution in conformity with this.

Judge Chambers of Maryland seconded the views of Gov. Fish. Mr. Wilmer, he said, is a bishop as much as any one, but not a bishop of the United States. He should be legislated for as a "foreign Bishop." Knowing the family intimately he had not the slightest doubt but that Bishop Wilmer would be reunite himself to the Church as has abandoned all ideas of a confederacy, and has come back to the United States as a citizen. But he cannot be received into the church till he has proceeded evidence of his consecration and made a declaration of conformity.

During the debate a message was received from the House of Bishops on the subject, *that body being in favor of at once recognizing the validity of Bishop Wilmer's consecration without any qualification*, but as the House of Delegates demur to this, they proposed a committee of conference, which was agreed to.

A still more direct issue arose on the following resolution, introduced by Horace Binney of Philadelphia :

Resolved, that this house is most cordially concurring, as it has done, in the resolution of the house of Bishops, approving of the thanksgiving for the restoration of peace to the country and union to the Church, most respectfully expresses to the House of Bishops its most earnest desire that in the religious services to be appointed for the day, especial thanks be rendered to Almighty God for the reestablishment of the national authority over the whole country, *and for the removal of that great occasion of national dissension and estrangement to which our late troubles were due*,

A storm followed. Judge Chambers instantly moved to lay the resolution on the table. Mr. Binney tried to be heard on his resolution but was choked down. The motion to lay on the table was carried when Dr. Goodwin moved a reconsideration, which motion, like the resolution itself, was laid on the table by the casting vote of—clerical, yeas 20, nays 6 ; lay, yeas 15, nays 7. The effect of this parliamentary sharp practice, as explained to the convention before the vote, was to prevent the question being again taken up during the session of the convention. And the result is that the Protestant Episcopal Church of America declares that it is thankful neither for the reestablishment of the national authority over the whole country, nor for the removal of the great occasion of national dissension from their Commander-in-Chief. Such there can be no doubt, nor need it excite amazement in the mind of any body who knows the history of this organization. Perhaps it is well for the country that such a body should have the courage to proclaim its sympathy with the blind hatred of justice and an open enemy has been less dangerous than an enemy wearing the mask of loyalty and Christianity.

## *TWO WARNINGS TO THE PRESIDENT.*

THE Eastern Republicans are begining to echo the voice of the Western, and to notify the President that their support of his Administration may be contingent on his devotion to the principles of the party. Mr. Greeley, invigorated by his Western tour, addresses a letter of rebuke to Senator Doolittle and of cordial sympathy to the Wisconsin Radicals, from which we extract the most significant passages :

"Mr. Doolittle is evidently of those who think we have no further need of the negro, and may now safely kick him out of our sight—whistle him down the wind. I differ from him most decidedly. In my view, as in that of the Declaration above quoted, the rightful authority of the Union over the States lately in revolt rests wholly upon the loyal blacks therein ; they are no part of the body politic, South Carolina and Mississippi are in the Union to-day only by virtue of superior force—that is, by the law of the conquest. I cannot deem that a just or safe basis of republican authority. That the South to be rightfully in the Union because a clear majority of her people desire that she should be, in making an enemy count, like the Indian industry has pardoned rebels : but I insist that all ardent, unswerving Unionists shall be counted likewise. Let not our opponents object to black faces, since we do not to black hearts.

"Mr. Doolittle dilates windily on States' rights ; what constitutes a State?' and proclaims that 'a State never dies.' As I figure, Governor Sharkey and Governor Jenkins supersede those regularly chosen people, and nullified no elections, I do not feel convinced by Mr. Doolittle's argument. But to his answer, 'the people of a State constitute and to that people I am willing unreserved ly to commit the question.' Secure changed Unionists of South Carolina or Mississippi an equality of rights and franchises with her real-handed rebels, and I ask no more. But I protest against putting the decision upon the issue of the hour, when the ground to powder because of their devotion to the National cause in the trying hour, and call that reasoning or accounting the Rebellion.

"Was the like ever suggested before? Did ever a National Government, completely victorious over a formidable and desperate rebellion, do less than pin its steadfast, devoted upholders on a par with the assailants of its life? Of all the treason ever heard of, would not a failure to do thus be the foulest treachery?"

Upon Mr. Doolittle's objection to suffrage on the ground that the negroes, if they went to the polls to vote, and did not vote to please the dominant race, *could not vote at all*, H. G. remarks :

"I beg you only to consider well the fact that Mr. Doolittle proposes to surrender four millions of our loyal countrymen, many thousands of whom have shed their blood for the Union, into the possession and power of our and their enemies, who have murdered not less than one thousand of them since the war was closed, and have never yet brought one of the murderers to justice, and ask Mr. Doolittle if he can safely allow them to exercise freely the Right of Suffrage if they possessed it—and who, he proceeds to show, will not be suffered to let them live at peace in his country, now that they are free. 'O my soul ! come thou not into their secret ! to their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united !'

Of the Republican party he says :

"Rely on it, whenever we shall have ceased to impel public opinion in the direction of Justice and Humanity, we shall sink beneath its waves. Of two shame, the People will naturally prefer the older, more systematic, more consistent, more tenacious. We can only serve you so long as we are nobler, humaner, juster, than our antagonists ; and I, for one, rejoice that it is so."

The resolutions of the Democratic Convention in Louisiana, *holding that this Government was made and is to be perpetuated for the exclusive political benefit of the White race ; and asking Congress for compensation for slaves emancipated by the Proclamation of Freedom*, elicit the following significant warning to President Johnson :

"Such is the platform whereon President Johnson is invited to stand, proscribing those who nominated and elected him, and devoting the Government to 'the exclusive political benefit' of those Louisianians who, a year ago, were given $100,000 in Rebel gold to do, while dooming to eternal degradation and serfdom nearly every resident of that State who fought on the side of the Union. Of course, if Mr. Johnson shall have made his Coronation progress ' with the assassins or his father in front, those of his grandfather on other hand, the men who were to be his own assassins brought up the rear. If Mr. Johnson chooses to be likewise surrounded, what can we do ?"

The substance of all which is that the Republican party has no business to exist unless, as a party, it advocates negro suffrage, and that if the President will not go with the party, so much the worse for him. Were that declaration to be acted on courageously and resolutely, a bright future might speedily dawn on a country now but relapsing into its old pro-slavery bigotry and subjection.

The *Independent* reinforces Mr. Greeley with still more unreserved denunciation of the policy which is betraying the party and the country together :

"Standing on the Christian doctrine of Equal Rights —from which, as Christian men, we dare not depart—we ask, of the Administration of Mr. Johnson, as we do of the Rebellion, whether it is the Christian nation is grounding his Administration upon this only sure foundation? Making this inquiry, we ground it. Is dissatisfied with the present moral attitude of the Government. Exactly so much punishment, therefore, as this dissatisfaction ought justly to cause, we are willing to endure in order to excite it. Beyond that, God is our witness that we are unwilling critics of a friendly Administration. But the President, after six months of trial, is at last equally distinct in his exponent of each of the great political parties. How, then, can we tell whether he wears blue or gray? The reports from Washington, which purport to speak for the President, are of such a kind as to make us think the contradictory that they devour each other like the omnivorous telegrams to the Philadelphia papers during the war. For instance, within the week the most distinguished Republicans called at our office, one to say, 'The President is lost, and the Government is gone!' and the other to say, 'The President is safe, and the Democratic party has the fisherman's net over all its gills.' Between these two opinions we are entitled to our own ; which is, that a President of the United States who stands in so equivocal a position cannot receive, not the joint praise of the two parties, but the just rebuke of both !

"Mean while, whatever shall be the President's final intent, even should he seek to fulfil the best expectations, his half-year's unhappy experiment will possibly have made more willing for the defeat of that measure than for its success ; and the Democratic party, in the interest of a Republican Administration! Consequently, the Springfield *Republican*, of Massachusetts, and the *Evening Post* of this city—perhaps the only Journals, speaking for many others beside themselves, that unite in saying that the Republican party cannot afford to turn back upon the burden of Equal Suffrage. Gov. Morton, of Indiana, and Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin say the same thing. A prominent representative of the Federal Government in this city said to us, last week, 'The Republican party has nothing but Equal Suffrage *overboard!*' With here and there a brave exception, we suspect the confession is true, that the Republican party, fairly weighed, has nothing but Suffrage into the sea. How surprised these timid gentlemen will look when the whale's belly, after three days, shall surrender it back into their hands !"

It is argued with equal truth that, as in Connecticut, so in the Southern States, if the President had wished to secure negro suffrage he might have secured it :

"President Johnson, if he had wished to invest the negro with the citizen's right to the ballot, has had, and still has, *the logical argument, the moral duty, and the political power*, to do it. His duty to-day is the duty which he owes to the Republic : and this duty *will be required at his hands*."

That there may be no doubt at whose hands it is required, this platform is constructed for the party, and this prophecy announced :

"Any Republican party must stand either *for or against* Equal Suffrage. Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken ; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder! If this party refuses to fulfil the moral mission, it will go to pieces, and the next Presidential election through the mere decay of its moral forces."

Already the question is arising whether there shall be a reorganization of politics, with a view to making the next Presidential discussion bear more directly and distinctly on these questions. Whether the present Republican management seems willing to ignore the necessity for taking such a step will be more or less apparent after the Philadelphia Union Convention, and Congress ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— large a body of men who believe that the party includes ——— ——— ——— ——— strength, and for no other interest than their country, that the ——— party can ——— ——— ——— ——— will not forget such a party's ——— ——— ——— ——— with impunity. And as these same earnest men have ——— ——— ——— time shaken the nation, they have power to shake the party, and to compel measures which we have already heard from certain Republican leaders to be adopted as the convenient morals of that party, the time is at hand for the sound timber from the house, and leaving the rotten to perish by itself !

We are sorry to have to add that, judging from the responses of the press to the two articles from which we have quoted, there seems to be more rotten timber than sound.

THE old, old story of swindling the negro must be told, again. A dispatch to the *Tribune* says that the regiment of District colored troops, who returned with one battle-flag so mutilated as to scarce determine its character, and nothing but the bare staff of what was their other color remaining, are to be paid only from the passage of the act so authorizing—again ignoring the plain law that the negro troops were entitled to pay irrespective of any statute. In regard to bounty the orders are, first, that each soldier shall prove himself to have been a free person when he enlisted before he can be paid the bounty at all. Second, that having so proved himself free at the time of enlistment, he shall be paid $100 only, instead of $302 paid to white troops. An effort was made to induce Secretary Stanton to overrule this decision of the paymaster and controller, and do simple justice to these men ; but the effort, like so many other efforts to persuade the Secretary of justice to distent treatment of the colored troops, failed utterly. The government seems inexorably deaf to all claims in their behalf, and we must presume that the same policy is to be pursued toward the regiments yet to be mustered out.

THE present state of the controversy in Washington touching the colored schools, is thus described by a correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune* :

"On last Oct. 7, Mayor Wallach, of this city, Trustees of the Colored Schools by letter, ready to pay whatever was due them, and give asking if either of them was willing to act in the New York *Tribune*, stating that to pay over $1,000.

The trustees declined to answer officially, but stated privately that they were aware of the article until their attention was called to it by the Mayor himself. The Mayor then refused to pay over the money promised until the question had been answered. This was since changed his mind, and yesterday paid them $8,000 ; whereupon A. G. Riddle, one of the best lawyers of this city brought a suit against him for $12,000, the balance still due."

There is no doubt whatever of the entire illegality of Mayor Wallach's course, and we trust there is to be no slackening in the effort to compel him to pay the money due the colored schools. His refusal is sheer malice, and if the Trustees knew Wallach as well as we know him, they would have found means to bring him to terms before this.

THE Richmond *Whig*, in an editorial on the recent elections, says :

"The success of the so-called Republican party in Pennsylvania and Ohio appears to us to be a matter of the least possible consequence, except in the satisfaction it will give them. When Congress meets, and the policy of the President comes before it for practical action, we expect to see Republicans, Union men, Democrats, and Conservatives rallying him. The Radicals will stand off and will constitute the anti-Administration party. All moderate and patriotic men will coms together, necessarily, into an Administration party, and it will make up in force by what name they may have been known heretofore.

"The moderate and patriotic men" being the Southern Democrats who fought for slavery in the field and the Northern Democrats who fought for it by opposing the war and seeking to betray the country at home. Together they will make a model "Administration party," and afford to Andrew Johnson the support he seems to covet.

HENRY WILSON'S canvass in New York elicits the following from "Warrington :"

"Senator Wilson has gone to New York, where he takes the stump. I asked him which ticket he was for, and he said, 'I am for Republican. If he could wake up tomorrow morning and find that the two parties had changed tickets, as they might well enough, for one is as much Republican and as much Democratic as the other, he would ask which had the party imprint on it, and take the stump with that invincible vigor and good humor which ever distinguished him. The New Jersey election of Saturday week was contesting, for if Andrew Johnson goes on as he is he now going, slavery, unless prohibited, will be reestablished, not only in fact but in law, before 1868 ; but there is no issue in which Wilson's 'Handy dandy, which is the justice and which is the thief?'"

IF the statement of the Charleston *News*, printed in another column, can be believed, the order has already gone forth for the ousting of the freedmen from the Sea Islands of Carolina. That blow which our correspondent two weeks ago, John Pinckney, apprehended, has fallen. Lands set apart for the support and the permanent occupation of the Freedmen, are resumed by the Government, and handed over to their rebel claimants, without one thought of the outraged and destitute Abolitionists who own them. No way so sure to deserve the favor of the President as to have been a traitor! No claim so scouted as that of a loyalist who has a black skin! No condition so miserable as that of the man who has trusted the pledge of the Government!

GEN. HOWARD.—This officer needs watching. The eagerness with which every concession that he makes is explained away is a proof that he is strikingly suspicious. And those concessions are named legion for they are many. Among all his assistant commissioners perhaps there is one only who is above suspicion and above reproach—Gen. Rufus Saxton. If our estimate of Gen. Howard's character is not erroneous, we would not be surprised to see him supersede Gen. Saxton. It is out of harmony with the Commissioner's recent course to have such a man on his staff of assistants. The colored people have, in Gen. Saxton, an unquestioning faith, and he deserves their confidence without qualification. How, then, can Gen. Howard who is popular with the rebels endure such an officer? We believe it is necessity, not choice, the causes Gen. Saxton to be retained. We shall see.

THE *National Intelligencer* is out with an article urging that the law which prohibits rebel members from entering Congress is unconstitutional. The *Intelligencer* is said to speak for Mr. Johnson in these days—semi-officially, at least. Is this a feeler to see whether it would be safe for Mr. McPherson to put their names on the roll, and so finish up the reconstruction job handsomely out of hand?

ORDERS for the muster out of a very large part of all the colored troops remaining in the army have been issued from Washington. Economy is the pretext ; the true reason may be found in the purpose of the President to conciliate the South at any sacrifice.

## *PERSONAL.*

James A. Dix, for many years editor of the Boston *Journal*, died last week Wednesday of consumption. He was a popular and successful editor.

Rev. T. W. Conway, Asst Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Louisiana, has been superseded by Gen. Absalom Baird.

Brig.-Gen. Hawley, Gen. Terry's Chief of Staff, has been brevetted Major-General. He deserves the promotion for his soldierly ability not less than for his fidelity to Anti-Slavery principles.

The order mustering out one hundred general officers and all their staffs, which was determined on by Gen. Grant, has not yet been issued from the Adjutant-General's office, but is expected to come out in a few days.

Dr. Wayland appointed as his literary executors Mrs. Wayland and his sons, Judge Francis Wayland and Rev. Prof. H. L. Wayland, and they will at once proceed with the preparation of a memoir of him, and will also provide for the issue of a uniform edition of his complete works.

The king of Saxony, who is among the most eminent expounders and translators of Dante, placed himself at the head of the German Dante society, founded at Dresden on September 14. The object of the society is to publish a Dante annual, to found a Dante library, and to issue a pocket edition of the smaller works of the illustrious poet.

The President has ordered that John A. Campbell, of Alabama ; ——— John H. Reagan, of Texas ; Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia ; Geo. ——— ——— Andrew A. Trenholm, of South Carolina ; and Charles Clark, of Mississippi, lately in Fort Warren, be released from custody on giving their respective paroles to appear at such time and place as the President may designate, to answer to any charges that he may direct to be brought against them.

A letter recently received from a Union officer in Georgia states that a man has been met with who claims to have shot Col. Shaw of the Mass. 54th (colored) regiment, and who, moreover, declares that Col. Shaw was not buried, as the Charleston papers stated, with the colors of his regiment, but was put into a separate grave between two other Union officers. He details the circumstances of the burial, and says he should have no difficulty in going directly to the grave. The information has been transmitted to Col. Shaw's family.

Among the contested seats in the next Congress will be that of James Brooks (of the N. Y. *Express*), who runs against Mr. William E. Dodge in the Fifth Congressional district, and was declared elected by a majority of not far from 200 votes. Mr. Dodge claims his own election by about the same majority, and is announced as being disposed to contest Mr. Brooks' seat.

A magnificent Tenth Corps badge has been presented to Maj.-Gen. Alfred Terry by a large number of the officers of the late organization. The badge represents a bastion fort, and in this case is ornamented by five diamonds in the centre and by ——— ———, the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath of gold enamel. It is suspended from a general's baton held in the claws of an eagle, beneath which appear various military symbols, all of solid gold and exquisite workmanship.

This paragraph is taken from a prominent newspaper. It is worth publication as an illustration of the "healthy loyalty" of the South :

"It is reported that Joseph R. Anderson, manager of the Tredegar Iron Works at Richmond, and recently pardoned, has refused to give employment to any of the late officers in Virginia who did not take that State during the rebellion. This is intended to reach Union men, who fled to avoid serving in the rebel armies. Anderson, before he was pardoned, employed a large number of this class of people in his factories, and was eloquent in praise of their industry and faithfulness ; but that was when he was seeking a pardon. Now he has got it his real sentiments begin to be developed."

The Chicago *Times* asserts that President Johnson has removed Mr. Russell, the postmaster at Davenport, Iowa, because of his advocacy of colored suffrage, both in Iowa and at the South, and has appointed Gen. Saunders in his stead.

Upon this the *Times* says :

"His removal by President Johnson is the beginning of hostilities by the President against Republicanism. It is his first blow against Radical Abolitionism, and the inauguration of a campaign against Abolition fanatics which will not cease until they are exterminated."

Saunders, the appointee, is of the Benton party, and opposed to negro suffrage.

M. Rogeard, the author of that stinging satire on Napoleon III., "Propos de Labienus," has just been expelled from Belgium, whither he fled, or his friends carried him, after its publication, for having written a second offensive work, "Pauvre France," which the Belgian authorities considered "insulting both to the government which allowed him and to a neighboring friendly nation." In his preface he attacks monarchies in general, and that of France in particular, as being upheld by "the seven scourges of modern society—a standing army, a paid clergy, irremovable magistrates, centralized administration, police, prostitution, and organized pauperism." At the last accounts M. Rogeard was in Germany.

Robert E. Lee subscribed to the "amnesty oath on the 2d inst., and it has been filed at the State Department. It reads as follows :

OFFICE OF NOTARY PUBLIC, }
ROCKBRIDGE COUNTY, VA., Oct 2, 1865. }

I, Robert E. Lee, of Lexington, Va., do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves. So help me God.

(Signed) R. E. LEE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 2d day of October, A. D. 1865.

CHAS. A. DAVIDSON, Notary Public.

He has taken an oath substantially the same at least twice before. If he keeps this any better than the other, it will be simply because a promising opportunity to break it does not occur.

Gen. Banks has succeeded in getting himself nominated for Congress in the sixth district of Massachusetts. His manœuvres to that end showed, it is needless to say, considerable humbug and dirt. All can be exhibited at Cedar Mountain or on the Red River. "Warrington" comments on the event with his usual cleverness, as follows :

"He is, indeed, a most remarkable phenomenon. I recall Carlyle's description of Cagliostro, 'A nimbus of renown and preternatural astonishment envelopes him ; he abashes the general eye. The few mortals, who scattered here and there, that see through him, deafened in the universal hubbub, shut their lips in sorrowful disdain, confident in the end of Immortals. The enchanter, meanwhile, rolls on his way.' I am persuaded that Gen. Banks actually believes himself to be a great man—possibly a great military man—yes, a great man in very respects. If he will look at himself, he could not look each other in the face without laughing. Gen. Banks never laughs. Other men, when they have succeeded in humbugging the public, have occasionally got over it with their friends ; but it comes to him as a matter of course, and all in the way of his duty. In Cedar Mountain and Red River were successes (a fact which I understand is demonstrated by the Charlestown speech and Gooch's whitewashing report) then anything can be proved. Napoleon, contrary to the general belief, won the battle of Waterloo, and Banks, in surrendering Texas in Virginia, is now commander-in-chief of the rebel forces and about to besiege New York city. In absolute despair we cry out:

"Thrice happy is he/ that is an idle waste of thought,
And nought is everything and everything is nought."

THE Atlanta correspondent of the Indianapolis *State Journal* tells the following story :

"On the train here I met a formerly wealthy planter of Calhoun county, Alabama. Here's our conversation, after the preliminary introduction :

*Wealthy Planter*—I was a radical secessionist, and only regret that we did not succeed. Though I was born in Massachusetts, I hate her now, and all her Abolitionists.

*Correspondent*—But you are willing to accept the inevitable logic of events, and try to make the best of a bad job, are you not?

*Planter*—I accept nothing which is wrong. I am a Southern Rights man, and to the day we will yet be successful in obtaining what is justly due us.

*Correspondent*—And what has become of your slaves? Don't you hire them, or contract with them somehow?

*Planter*—Hire them! Not much. I would not have to furnish them as formerly. I shan't hire them nor contract with them. If they want to go and starve, let them go.

*Correspondent*—But how can you get along so?

*Planter*—I don't expect to. I am going to sell my plantation and cotton factory, and buy on the Hudson river, and go to work and make money. Since these Abolitionists have done, have no faith in your nigger freedom, your free labor, or nigger equality, and I'll let you try it for a while.

He had every appearance of a gentleman of refinement and education (a real *rara avis* in Dixie), and expressed a kindly feeling of many thousands who reside in this and adjoining States.

SPREAD OF THE CHOLERA.—Foreign mails received at the State Department bring additional details relative to the spread of the cholera. The Consul at Constantinople, writing under date of Sept. 18, reports that the disease has almost entirely disappeared from that city. The United States Consul at Port Mahon reports, under date of Sept. 20, that he has trustworthy information from Palma up to and including the 17th of September. The usual population of Palma is 40,000. From the 7th ult., the population did not exceed 15,000. On that day 137 deaths occurred from cholera. Since then deaths are reported from one to seventy daily. The disease at Palma appears in a very aggravated form, and seems to baffle human skill. Reports have reached Port Mahon that the disease is spreading into the interior of Spain. Reliable advices from Genoa, Italy, state that but a few cases of cholera have occurred there. Intelligence from the Consul at Marseilles, France, is to the effect that the terrible scourge is rapidly frightfully on the increase there. Eighty thousand citizens have left the city, and the deaths now average between 60 and 80 per day. Huge bonfires, numbering 1,000 at a time, are burning nightly in the streets, for the purpose of purifying the atmosphere, which has the desired effect to some extent. It was active at Toulon and Marseilles, but had ceased to exist in France. Some cases had occurred, according to one account, at Montpellier, so famed for its salubrity. The disease is reported to have appeared at Southampton, England, but the accuracy of the report is questioned. Yellow fever had broken out at Swansea, in Wales. Both these places are large and of much note in commerce.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.—The conductors of three New York journals—the *Herald*, the *World*, and the *Express*—have been notified by the French Consul that their publication in France will be stopped if they shall not change the views they publish of the Emperor's Mexican policy.



THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, September and Scott & Co.'s American Reprint.

The *North British* reviews Mr. Carlyle's history at great length, with much learning and wisdom and great sagacity of judgment. Mr. Carlyle is censured by his Scotch fellow-countrymen to such a degree that we will or no, on the strength of impartiality, are inclined to do penance. Not only for the sake of Frederick, but for the general backsliding of which the Scotch are guilty, but one instance, must Carlyle profess conviction before we would gain favor at the hands of his countrymen. He says :

His style has deteriorated, his morals are not improved to the bad. He has corrupted the English language, and he has mis-written history. He suppresses, he exaggerates, he colors, he distorts. The indictment is a grave one, but we have a notion the directors will not suffer it to be put into the box, even if it advisable, to plead some of the offences which the critic charges upon the spirit. We do not deem the article an improved one. It is the tone of the prosecutor, not of the judge which pervades it. Mr. Carlyle's history of Frederick is open to criticism on many points, but the work is not open to criticism. Mr. Carlyle receives much undeserved commendment which Jeffrey, which Croker, which Hallam, which Macaulay were wont to bestow on greater some than themselves, when the greater men did not choose to contract the circle orbits within the complete ken of the critical telescope.

Nevertheless, there are passages in this article of merit enough to bear quoting—those mainly which are not infused with the spirit of criticism. The reviewer chooses to assert that Carlyle omits all notice of the influence of his times on Frederic's career—which is far from being true—and supplies the following outline :

"In the struggle which we know by the name of the Seven Years' War, many forces were at work very different from the ambitions of Frederic. The national and political spirit of Germany was awakening in the face of the waters. It had slept a deep sleep of exhaustion since the Reformation. Out of the ruin of the old mediæval tendencies there had been slowly evolved this thirty years' War. A gloomy reign of despotism and terror of Austria and Spain—a dead hatred of some hundred years. But the time had not yet, though the ruinous of time was not yet, formed against Frederic. The Pope and Rome, with exaggeration, styled 'the most powerful and malignant confederacy that ever yet has threatened the existence of mankind,' roused, to some extent, the independence which it menaced. It required the blind accession of Sweden, it was necessary to invigorate the league of Catholics against Protestantism, and the spirit of the south contended with the north, that high in favor of successor of the "Lion of the North," Clement XIII. did Frederic an invaluable service when he sent a sword and a velvet hat, and a dove of pearls, enriched with his pontifical benediction. Still the struggle was not one. Thus all the stars in their courses fought for Frederic. In his behalf—the sceptic, the despot, the French *libertin*—the most determined enemies of Protestantism, of love of liberty, and of the rising power of German thought. The spirit of the times was on the side of Frederic—and all which, even if despised by him or undeserved, should not have been omitted in the story of his life. Such omission may tend to the greater glory of Frederic, though we doubt this ; but it certainly is wanting in justice to the times, and detracts sadly from the dignity and the value of the work.

One of the most frightful representations

# IMPEACHING THE PRESIDENT.

the importance of this watchful care which ...carefully & always ...
...itself, but which with the lapse of ...
...Piles of old papers, immense ...
...manuscript, bound and unbound, order books ...
...manuscript documents, works on history, men ...
...of the Mexican war, and others of the ...
...Spanish America, have been collected and pr... ...
...great care and labor. Libraries of such ...
...be established in most people, but are of ...
...importance, and that is a fortunate dispensa... ...
...rare instance when some one the ...
...person competent to do so, undertakes a task... ...
...Society in New York have made for some ...
...$50,000 for the collection, which has ...
...recently accepted.

"GAY STREET" was new-named "Milton Street," ... of disagreeable associations, just to honor our ... pick up where we left off. Mr. Chris Dix ... des Beurres d'Hardenpont" was in future to be called ... Duke of Edinburgh," who lived there for forty ... Rose named for the young sovereign, and ... to render homage to the pious memory, and ... down to posterity the spot upon which he resided. ... Milton's house in St. Martin's Street is falling ... Newton's house in St. Martin's-le-Grand, ... Sir Joshua Reynolds" is an auction room; ... disappointed Lord and Lady Monck, that ... Bessie" of his verse, died on ... of Stoperton Cottage, a residence for ... against at Stoperton Cottage, a residence for ... of him in his lifetime by many painful and pleas... recollections.

...people's edition of Mr. Mill's works is very ... says the London *Reader*; but it deserves to be ... greatly known that it could not have been so cheap ... the author voluntarily in the ink- ... which ...

## ...ARD FROM MR. M. F. CONWAY.

RICHMOND, Oct. 13, 1865.

*Editor of the Standard:*

...I have read your comments on my note pub... ...of the 7th inst. Permit me a brief ... ...

...me ...
...un- ...
...seems, from (1.) my having gone to ... 2.) my acting as counsel for ... parlon ; (3.) my having written a ... Senator Doolittle in support of President John... ...sure. of action in the lately rebellious States.

...ow. I am yet to learn that an anti-slavery spirit, or ...pose, or principle, is necessarily dependent for its ex... ...ence on any geographical locality, either that of Kan... ...or on any Boston, or New York ; seeing that I was an anti... ...very man in spirit, purpose, and principle, while yet ... ...ant in my native city of Baltimore, twelve or fifteen ... ago, before I ever saw either Kansas, Boston, or ... York.

...is also quite as deficient with respect to ... code of morals which identifies the principles of ... ...ply with those of its employer, or requires it ... ...er to re-view the teachings of virtue in reference ... ...counsel of a person charged with crime.

...ish regard to my support of the President's course, ... involves no abandonment of any principle ever held ... professed by me ; but, on the contrary, is in perfect ...ony with my entire system of thought and action ... the beginning. I refer you to the very letter of which ... speak—that to Senator Doolittle—which I find, ... many of my friends are ready to condemn, they ... not so ready to see the light of day through it. ... ...ages columns they control. I refer you to this ..., and ask you to publish it. I send you a copy. ... position in this letter is that, the war having termin... ...—not in the independence of the Confederate States, ... in their conquest, but in the restoration over them ... the authority of the General Government, on the ... of the Constitution—we have no power to enact ...w of suffrage for those States, any more than we ... to enact a law for the Kingdom of Great Britain ... and Ireland. By the fundamental ordinance of the ... we were precluded from doing anything of the ...

With regard to the question of suffrage, we are pre... ...ely where we would have been in regard to the ques... ...of slavery itself, if that institution had not been ...troyed before the termination of the war.

...h slavery, we are within the sphere of the Constitu... ...nal system of the Union, capable of to be broken by the ...ebellion, but preserved in its integrity, after years of ...ely conflict. The defeat of the rebellion implies the ...ntenance of the Union, as the object of the one was ... the overthrow of the other.

...t is, therefore, not with respect to slavery, nor with ...pect to negro suffrage, nor the negro in any of his ...stions, that I have expressed any dissent whatever ...m the views entertained by the STANDARD or any of ...friends ; but simply with regard to the nature of Con... ...s, or the President, or the General Government, in ... or all of its departments, to legislate for the States ... a subject which the Constitution has left to the ex... ...sive action of the States themselves.

...What "apostasy" is there in this? And what war... ...s there for your extraordinary assertion that I have ...*abandoned my principles for the sake of a career at Rich...d?*

...This is the first occasion of such an accusation ever ...ing preferred against me, though in my public career ...have differed frequently and widely from many ; and ...re than once from *all* my political friends. I have ...e thought it necessary to seek to allay suspicion ...gainst my integrity, by turning to the right hand or ...left, or measuring my gait, or cut of waistcoat, or ...ar, or gesture or phrase of my speech. I scorn ...hem petty tricks of the guilty soul ; and if the editor ...the STANDARD can prove me a miscreant and a traitor ...the circumstances of my removal to Richmond and ...ecution, as conceal by persons accused of offences ...ainst the laws, and the like, he is welcome to do it. ...am content to rest in the consciousness of my integ... ...—true to *the system* which God has revealed to ...y understanding for my own guidance, in the strife ...d chaos of contending vagaries, notions, plans, and ...hemes, of one kind and another—honest and short... ...—which prevail around me. M. F. CONWAY.

As Mr. Conway considers himself injured by our ...ments, we print the whole of his note, though its ...ncourteous tone might excuse us for putting it in the ...ket. His letter to Mr. Doolittle is much too long to ...d, and would have to go, if anywhere, into the Pro... ...slavery columns. We do not perceive that it contains ...y thing of importance which Mr. Conway has not ...eady stated in his notes on his ability enough to qualify ...e public to judge of the merits of his defence.

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SOUTHERN PATRIOTISM.—The chief medical officer of ...e Freedmen's Bureau for Alabama, in writing to the ...reau for additional medical assistance for the ...eedmen of that State, says that a number of Alabama ...hysicians have notified him that they will give their ...sistance for the moderate salary of $100 per month. ...he offer has been made somewhere.

MASSACHUSETTS AS A TAX PAYER.—We do not hear ...much of late about leaving New England out in the ...ld, and we shall not be likely to so long as she con... ...nues to furnish revenue in the liberal manner she has ...r nearly fifty millions, or, to give the exact figures ...r the year ending July 1, $47,552,560. Massachusetts ...paid nearly one-tenth of the whole amount, 826,252,836.

LABOR AND CROPS.—Georgia and South Carolina ...ppy planters say they must start with their late slaves ...the close of the year, because they shall not have the ...ans to have it in their power to support the former ...ers unless their next crops shall be harvested. But how ...are they to "make crops," if they will not employ la... ...ers?

COLORED GARRISONS.—All forts south of Fortress ...onroe except Forts Jefferson and Taylor, in Florida, ...e to be garrisoned by colored troops. These garrisons ...ld be composed of all the colored men who shall be ...tained in the national army.

DURING LOYALTY.—The war being ended, the Smith... ...ian is changing out a United States flag. As ...n as the contest was doubtful the officers of that in... ...tution steadily omitted to allow the Stars and Stripes ...float over their grounds.

OLD-SCHOOL PRESBYTERIANS IN ST. LOUIS.—The follow... ...ng is the latest "notice" is by the St. Louis correspon... ...ent of the Chicago *Tribune:*

...The biggest lot of traitors assembled in this State ...ince the surrender of Jeff. Thompson's army, consti... ...ted the Old-School Presbyterian Synod now in session ...n this city. Not satisfied with electing a man for ...oderator who was expelled last session for disloyalty, ...ey have amended the record of last year so as to show ...e expulsion was meritorious, and then debated a propo... ...ion to expel all who protested against such action. ...Anderson, and had the sanction of ex-Attorney-General ...Bates, proposed to amend last year's records entirely. ...It was carried by a nine-tenths vote."

# THE SOUTH AND THE NEGROES.

## MISSISSIPPI.

THE ELECTION.

The Jackson papers of October 4, print some partial returns of the election in that State. There is no doubt, but that something effective should be done, becomes every day more and more apparent. His whole plan of Reconstruction is an outrage on the very name of justice and right. The Presidential pardons too are an insulting burlesque on the name of government and law. When before were pardons ever poured out by thousands, to men innocent or guilty, without even a form of trial?

Not a rebel, red as he may be with innocent blood, is in the least humiliated by such a pardon. He can claim privilege and prerogative, with as brazen a front as before. His appointment to office, and his restoration of still rampant rebels to their immense landed and other property, and to all civil, political, and personal rights, are a most daring repeal of the Acts of Congress. His treatment of the white Southern delegations who crowd in upon him, his salutations of them as a sublimely virtuous body of men, representing millions of people equally so, his eulogies of *"their ancient instincts of frankness, and manly honor,"* prove that he is in sympathy with the rebels. And now he has ordered the wretch who solicited in his newspaper a million dollars for the assassination of President Lincoln, out of the hands of military authority, and sent him down to Alabama to be tried before such a civil court and jury as that still defiant horde of rebels will give him. Meanwhile, the universal cry still is stand by the President—support the present plan of reconstruction. The colored man and his cause, especially his right of suffrage, must be indefinitely postponed. And so we seem rapidly drifting to a crisis where a John Brown or a Toulsaint L'Ouverture must be the forlorn hope of salvation if even a remnant of the nation shall be saved.

## THE UNIONBUND.

THE General Committee of the *Unionbund* of New York has sent the following address for ratification to the German Union Leagues of the different Assembly Districts of that City :

THE STRUCTURE PLATFORM AND THE STATE ELECTION.—AN ADDRESS OF THE UNIONBUND OF NEW YORK TO THE LIBERAL GERMAN-AMERICANS.

After a cruel war of four years and a dearly bought victory the nation is now called upon to pronounce on the following momentous questions :

Shall the Union be reconstructed by Congress, the representation of the victorious nation, on the basis of equal rights *for all citizens?* Or,

Shall the rebellion be allowed, by carrying out his pernicious plan, to open the gates of the Union for the reception of the Rebel States with their oppressive aristocracy preserved, and with a disfranchised and landless laboring class? Shall the defeated South, as an exultant and malicious conqueror, enter the Union saved by the death of so many thousands of loyal men ; shall those words, *" Our Southern Rights,"* thrown insultingly and unrebuked into the face of the President, become the watch-word of a new battle-flag of the South?

Will the nation make the sacrifices of wealth necessary to uproot completely the cause of all unity, and to secure forever the peace and the welfare of the Republic? Or,

Shall a treacherous compromise enable the defeated foe to become again the master, and in future time once more the destroyer of the Union?

President Johnson has now for six months exercised an unconrolled power ; his policy is well defined, and the situation in the country is manifest.

Every thoughtful citizen knows that he has to say *yes* or *no* to the questions : Shall the emphatically expressed will of the President become the law through which the Union is to be restored?

The Convention of Syracuse, exhibiting a courtier-like submissiveness and flattery, has shouted *yes!*

But we believe that the resolutions of that Convention do not express the convictions of the majority of the citizens composing the Union party. We believe that the well-known principles of certain leaders took hold of the unprincipled and weak, in order to turn the Union party into an instrument of a pernicious policy.

Will now the liberal and independent citizens acknowledge the Syracuse platform as the expression of their convictions and their demands, and give it their assent?

That *Unionbund, faithful to its principles, as declared in its manifesto, rejects with indignation the Syracuse platform, and declares openly and positively that it will not participate in the elections which will take place on this basis in the months of November.*

The Unionbund places itself under the banner borne by young Minnesota, energetic and honest, and by Massachusetts, the glorious old leader in the combat for liberty and justice.

At the present moment, when the destinies of the Republic will be decided, it is the sacred duty of every citizen to listen only to the commands of his conscience and not to give, on account of party considerations, a vote in favor of a policy condemned by his convictions.

The Unionbund fulfils this duty with the consciousness that in this frank declaration of its views and its resolutions, it answers to the sentiments and intentions of the great majority of the liberal and independent German citizens.

The people cannot make a protest against the submission to the will of the President so anti-Republican, and so shamefully preached at the present time.

A protest against the decision of the glorious spirit of the nation so glowingly manifested immediately after the death of our Martyr President—a protest against the cunning politicians who have chilled that spirit into apathy—a protest against the demoralization daily—time by its *system* which God has revealed to my understanding for my own guidance, in the strife and chaos of contending vagaries, notions, plans, and schemes, of one kind and another—honest and shortsighted—which prevail around me. M. F. CONWAY.

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## DARA.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

When Persia's sceptre trembled in a hand
Wilted with harem-heats, and all the land
Was hovered o'er by those vulture fits
That snuff decaying empire from afar,
Then, with a nature balanced as a star,
Dara arose, a shepherd of the hills.

He who had governed sheepy subjects well
Made his own village by the self-same spell
Secure and quiet as a guarded fold;
Then, gathering strength by slow and wise degrees,
Under his sway, to neighbor villages
Order returned, and faith, and justice old.

Now when it fortuned that a king more wise
Endued the realm with brain, and hands, and eyes,
He sought on every side men brave and just;
And having heard our mountain shepherd's praise
How he relished mercy more than heaps of older days,
To Dara gave a satrapy in trust.

So Dara shepherded a province wide,
Nor as his viceroy's sceptre rose his pride
Than in his crook before: but envy finds
More food in cities than on mountains bare;
And the frank sun of spirits clear and rare
Breeds poisonous fogs in low and marish minds.

Soon it was whispered at the royal car
That, though wise Dara's province, year by year,
Like a great sponge, sucked wealth and plenty up,
Yet when he squeezed it at the kings behest,
Some yellow drops more rich than all the rest
Went to the filling of his private cup.

For proof, they said that, wheresoe'er he went,
A chest, beneath whose weight the camel bent.
Went with him; and no camel eye had seen
What was therein, save only Dara's own;
But, when 'twas opened, all his tent was known
To glow and lighten with heaped jewels' sheen.

The king set forth for Dara's province straight,
Where, as was fit, outside the city's gate,
The viceroy met him with a stately train,
And there, with archers circled, close at hand,
A camel with the chest was seen to stand.
The king's brow reddened, for the guilt was plain.

"Open me here," he cried. "this treasure chest."
'Twas done, and only a worn shepherd's vest
Was found within. Some blushed and hung the head
Not Dara: open as the sky's blue roof
He stood, and "O! my lord, behold the proof
That I was faithful to my trust," he said.

"To govern men, lo, all the spell I had!
My soul in these rude vestments overclad
Still for the neatness of my past keeps care and zeal,
Still on these plains could breathe her mountain air,
And fortune's heaviest gifts serenely bear,
Which bend men from their truth and make them reel.

For ruling wisely I should have small skill,
Were I not lord of simple Dara still;
That sceptre kept, I could not lose my way."
Strange dew in royal eyes grew round and bright,
And stained the throbbing lids; before 'twas night
Two added provinces blest Dara's sway.

## *ALBERT DURER.—A LESSON.*

From the New Path.

In the series of designs which Albert Dürer made to illustrate the life of the Virgin Mary there is one which represents, in a quaint fashion, the Repose in Egypt. The Virgin, on one side of the picture, distaff with both hands, and rocking with her foot the rude cradle where the child, tightly swathed, and strapped into his nest, is sleeping soundly. Over his head two angels are leaning; the one with a youthful, joyful face, the other with a sober face, symbolical of the blessings that await him, whether they be mother's love, or friends, or the higher joy of doing and being good;—the other, a sad and dark-browed messenger, looks down with distress upon the little innocent unconscious sleeper, and wrings his hand in agony as he sees, in vision, the evil that is to befall him. Meanwhile, the happy mother, dreaming of no ill, smiles with as sweet a mother's smile as ever was seen on earth, and, while looking forward nor backward, enjoys with calm delight the present bliss; safe in a friendly land, her child beside her, her husband near, and feeling, perhaps, the presence of the angelic visitants, but without exultation and without fear.

In the centre of the foreground, old Joseph is busily engaged in hollowing out a large log, apparently for the purpose of making a water-trough; whether to earn some money from the Egyptians by the sale of it when complete, or to supply and date his own beast—that faithful ass on which, if we may believe the old painters, Mary rode comfortably from Jerusalem to Egypt with the babe in her arms, while her husband walked by her side with all their worldly effects in a small bundle—we can only guess; we may smile in passing, if we will, at Dürer's notion of Egyptian Architecture, which looks, for all the world, like what we know of German house-building in the sixteenth century. But smile we must, whether we will or no, at this busy company of mischievous little angels, mere fledglings, who are swarming about the patient, plodding Joseph—like so many sparrows or chickens—and raking up the chips with which his adze has plentifully strewed the ground; others are piling them into baskets; one has, in a humor of quiet mischief, donned the great beaver hat of the unconscious Joseph, and has pushed it down over his ears in the hat and in very little else, unless it be his wings, before the very eyes of that excellent person, who is apparently so intent on his task that he sees nothing at all—if, indeed, he is not relying for invisible —of what is going on about him. Evidently, other angels in the immediate vicinity have heard of the new comers, and are on their way; one has just entered, having run himself quite out of breath, and is greeted with a hearty welcome at the door by a boisterous little urchin who has just made himself a whirligig out of two of Joseph's most successful chips!

This subject of the Repose in Egypt was a favorite one with the old painters," but this design of Dürer's is the most delightfully fresh and poetic we have ever seen. Dürer himself was a simple-hearted, hard-working man, the son of hard-working people, bred originally to his father's trade, and going on his apprentice journey like other young men who had served their time. He was not born, however, to be a mechanic; he had not the right make for it. He was industrious enough, and had a good ingenuously, leaving an amount of work behind him that proves he could never have been idle: was able to do a great many things; could paint and draw, after a marvellous fashion, with all sorts of materials and implements; could make cuts on wood, copper, iron; carved some of his designs in hone-stone as finely and delicately as if it were chalk; wrote books—a work on Fortification, in which is all that was known of that art in his time, and much that he could not have known; another on the Proportions of the Human Figure, in which he makes many singularly acute observations; and though the book, like almost all he did, is wrinkled in parts with the hard thinking of scholars; and lastly a work on Perspective, in which, also, he has embodied all that was known of that science, which just then was interesting all the ingenious people of Europe, artists most of all, and making them fill their pictures with buildings, colonnades, niches, and whatever could give them a chance to show what they knew, and sometimes as it proved, what they did not know. Dürer took hold of this study with eagerness; he was never tired of it, and being of a most ingenious, inventive turn of mind, he made many discoveries, and devised several clever expedients for overcoming practical difficulties.

You would say, perhaps, that such an ingenious, industrious man would have made an excellent mechanic; and so he would, perhaps, if industry and ingenuity were all the requisites; but Dürer was restless; he did nothing systematically; his books have no plan; his designs are full of thought, full of incident, they are wonderfully interesting, but they are often crowded and confused; he had so active, teeming a brain that he could not have worked at any one thing all his life, doing the same thing over and over again. What calms and balances other men—the mass of men—and makes them love steady work, and so keeps the world moving orderly, settled habits would have never sufficed for him; to have been tied to a desk would have killed him. It seems strange at first sight, inconsistent, almost, to say this, with one of his wonder-

*There is a very pretty conception of this subject by Lucas Cranach, a contemporary of Dürer (Dürer died twenty-four years before Cranach), in which the holy family is quite eclipsed by the swarm of little cherubs who are engaged in the most active way in making themselves useful. Their principal occupation seems to be cutting down branches of trees for firewood. Cranach probably thinking it as cold in Egypt as it is in Saxony, one of the little urchins becomes so immoderately thirsty by reason of over-heating himself in his endeavors to blow down willow-twigs, that he is prevailed upon to introduce a bottle after the fashion of a duck. But this of Cranach's is mere play of fancy. There is nothing deeper in it.

ful before us. We look at, study it, y much, and the impression of the an, his skill, his untiring steadi- ne ... ... ...